

Entwining the National and Personal: Art Spiegelman's Post-9/11 Shapeshifting

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Abstract

Art Spiegelman is the author-protagonist of a traumatic account of 9/11 and its aftermath, *In the Shadow of No Towers*. In this graphic novel he reports severe “issues of self-representation”. Remediated through the guise of numerous turn-of-the-century newspaper comic characters, he struggles to find some connection to a pre-9/11 era of innocence. His experience is a post-modern schizophrenia that has become symptomatic for trauma and that leads to a heterogeneous, ever-shifting representation.

Throughout each of *No Towers*' pages, its protagonist's shape is continually in flux: multiplying, shifting, even attacking itself through the boundaries of sequences. The author-protagonist can be seen breaking one of the panels, drilling into an enlarged image of his own head: it is as if the multiplication of Spiegelmans may extend to every single panel. Pictorially, the hero shapeshifts from himself into a perverse cheerleader for the War on Terror; the persona of Maus, or one of many widely divergent intertextual comic book adaptations.

Certainty of identity is structurally questioned, focusing on such doubts as the appearance and recognition of terrorists, and the displacement of guilt in politics. Equally terrorized by Bush and Al-Qaeda, Spiegelman shows himself a split subject, as objects, heads and other body parts replace each other from panel to panel during a sequence in which Spiegelman explains his concept of ‘displacement’ through a series of comparisons.

By bringing Spiegelman's graphic novel into dialogue with the trauma theory of Dominick LaCapra and Cathy Caruth I will show that Spiegelman's personal and domestic confusion is indicative of a wider, international, process of transformation and displacement during which the West was perceived as going from a pre- to a post-9/11 state. A process that was, above all, characterized by a return to a multiplicity of subjectivities and the eventual shape of which has yet to stabilize.

Key Words: Graphic novel, trauma, self-representation, multiple subjectivities, heterogeneous identity, 9/11, terrorism.

1. Introduction

As I am writing this introduction finalizing my article, it was exactly 12 years ago (to the day) that four airplanes were hijacked and flown into American soil to effect what is now regularly referred to as ‘9/11’. More than a date, 9/11 has become an event in the West's cultural memory.¹ Among the early responses one

tendency was dominant: namely that this event was indescribable or even (as yet) unfit for art and literature to deal with.² This paper centres around one early artistic response that shows its author trying to come to terms with the events and how to portray them. By bringing Art Spiegelman's *In the Shadow of No Towers* into dialogue with theoretical inquiries on the collective trauma in cultural memory I offer a retrospective look at early critical responses to 9/11 and to what Lucy Bond later termed 'discourses of trauma'.³

The structure of this paper is largely informed by three questions. Firstly, how does Art Spiegelman document his 9/11 trauma? Secondly, how does a trauma-theoretical reading serve to frame such a document as a symptom of a larger collective trauma? A third question remains which needs to be addressed, namely: how do we treat objections by scholars such as Lucy Bond? Bond argues that themes of trauma in criticism have been compromised by their mobilization in political rhetoric, leading to an interpretative void or crisis in criticism.⁴ Dealing with these questions will show that responses to 9/11 such as Spiegelman's already include a counter-discourse to the recruitment of personal trauma into a collective master narrative.⁵ As a pivotal motif throughout the work, the shape-shifting of the author-protagonist in Spiegelman's trauma-document reflects this push and pull between the confused protagonist and the views of his government.

1. Spiegelman's Crises of Identity

In the introductory essay to *In the Shadow of No Towers*, Spiegelman states the origins and intentions of his graphic novel.⁶ Above all, its individual perspective is made clear: it is no coincidence that the introduction opens with an 'I' the size of three lines. Spiegelman observes a difference between the time needed for some to put the burning towers behind them based on personal history and zip codes.⁷ Thus,

Spiegelman speaks of 'my 9/11 morning' and states his goal as being that 'I wanted to sort out the fragments of what I'd experienced from the media images that threatened to engulf what I actually saw'.⁸

Yet it is this 'I' that suffers a crisis of identity, something that leads Wyatt Mason to characterize *In the Shadow of No Towers* as

not a book about September 11. Rather, it is an essay in comics that attempts, through its form, to exhibit Spiegelman's fractured state of mind during the weeks and months he spent unmoored in the catastrophe's wake.⁹

As the author has cast (versions of) himself as protagonist, 'issues of self-representation' become problematic: issues that 'have left [him] slack-jawed,' or bewildered.¹⁰ Grammatically, the comic's text displays a continuous oscillation between the first and third person. Sometimes this occurs even within the panel, for

example when the text reads that “he can think about himself in the first person again,”¹¹ a paradoxical statement to make about oneself. To the left of this text, the character can be seen breaking one of the panels, drilling into an enlarged image of the author-protagonist’s head, as if the multiplication of Spiegelman’s may extend to every single panel. Pictorially, the hero-protagonist’s shifting shape ranges from him in his regular clothing to him dressed in cheerleader outfit. Additionally, he is pictured – in different sizes or states of maturity – as the type of mouse that featured in his graphic novel *Maus*, as well as being cast as widely divergent adaptations of other comic characters, mostly from the early 1900s. An example of this is Spiegelman and his wife’s role as a mix of the Twin Towers and Rudolph Dirks’ *Katzenjammer Kids*: the ‘Tower Twins’.

The confusion of identity is not limited to the domestic sphere of Spiegelman himself and his wife: “The Architects of Armageddon” insert on page nine shows Cheney, Ashcroft, Rumsfeld and Bush depicted as Cthulhu-esque alien monsters on a card deck, the latter being the joker. The “Weapons of Mass Displacement” strip right next to this deals most fundamentally with shapeshifting. As objects, heads and other body parts replace each other from panel to panel, Spiegelman explains his concept of ‘displacement’ through a series of comparisons. By adopting a kitten that resembles his deceased cat, the younger one has displaced the old one. ‘In a more sinister form,’ he asserts, this shifting shape is ‘America’s latest craze,’ opening into a list of displacements: ‘we demolished Iraq instead of Al-Qaeda,’ the New York Times displaced its guilt for printing lies about Iraqi nukes, fear of air-borne toxins is displaced with a law against smoking in bars, and so on.¹²

The freely shifting nature of identity is projected most directly onto Spiegelman’s own protagonist persona. However, this seemingly applies to everyone and everything, rendering identity wholly unreliable. The eagle around Spiegelman’s neck is called an albatross; that, or the albatross around Spiegelman’s neck looks like an eagle. The very act of reading (pictorially as well as textually) cannot be trusted.

This act of reading is further problematized by the comics’ structure. Thierry Groensteen, in developing a working definition of comics, characterizes

the comics panel [as] fragmentary and caught in a system of proliferation; it never makes up the totality of the utterance but can and must be understood as a component in a larger apparatus.¹³

In other words, the ‘relational play of a plurality of interdependent images’ must be recognized as the ‘unique ontological foundation of comics’.¹⁴ Perhaps a more well-known theorist is Scott McCloud, known for his more accessible but critically vulnerable style. He more loosely defines comics as ‘juxtaposed pictorial and other images in deliberate sequence’.¹⁵ The conventional way of reading comics is fairly

straightforward: panels appear in sequence from left to right, sequences that are continued below or on the next page, signifying (spatially) the passage of time.¹⁶

No Towers frequently problematizes this convention. An example is the 9th plate, in which the top left frame extends down the full length of the page, overlapping three distinct horizontal narratives. The first of these starts at the top and it, too, develops vertically but it is twice interrupted by sequences of ‘regular’ progressions - once by an anecdote (‘Overheard at a Tribeca party, 11/3/01’) and a the second time by the ‘Weapons of Mass Displacement’ sequence and ‘the Architects of Armageddon’ insert. The page layout is, to say the least, confusing: there is no obvious linear way of reading it as the sequences overlap and interpenetrate despite their merely associative connection. Other pages suggest the the interruptive continuity of the television viewer’s ‘channel flipping’ across topics and genres,¹⁷ diverging nonlinear narratives,¹⁸ distinct narratives bleeding into each other,¹⁹ or simultaneously occurring sequences.²⁰ Given the collage-like presentation with which all of these sequences are presented, the reader of *No Towers* needs to actively reconstruct its narrative in a Barthesian ‘writerly’ sense,²¹ or even a ludic or ergodic fashion.²²

2. Transforming through Trauma

The abovementioned tendencies in *No Towers* need to be stressed and summarized specifically in light of classical readings of trauma. These are, first, the tendency toward a pre-9/11 reality or identity and, second, the tendency toward confusing or fragmenting the linearity - or temporality - of the comic.

Both in his comics and the accompanying texts, Spiegelman expresses a strong sense of a ‘radical break’ with pre-9/11 continuity. His narrator speaks of ‘the New Normal,’²³ ‘a more innocent age,’²⁴ and the ‘end of the world,’²⁵ a moment due to which ‘everything had changed after September 11.’²⁶ Yet the appearance of his protagonist repeatedly shifts into forms that serve as nostalgic remediations of characters from this severed past. Notably, for instance, Spiegelman casts himself as various renditions of the aforementioned classical comic characters: ‘vital, unpretentious ephemera from the optimistic dawn of the 20th century’.²⁷

Additionally, a recurring transformation is into the type of humanoid mouse of his earlier auto-biographical work *Maus*. In it, he famously portrayed the nazi’s and jews in his father’s memories of World War II and Auschwitz as cats and mice, respectively. Remediating his persona from *Maus* (at different ages) is one of many ways in which Spiegelman implicitly connects his post-9/11 trauma to the Holocaust.²⁸ Indeed he states earlier that

outrunning the toxic cloud that had moments before been the north towers of the World Trade Center left me reeling on that faultline where World History and Personal History collide – the intersection my parents, Auschwitz survivors, had warned me about.²⁹

A major difference between *Maus* and *No Towers*, however, is in their ordering of time. Whereas *Maus* jumped back and forth neatly between diegetic present and retold past (and in doing so, moving from panel to panel in sequences from left to right, top to bottom), *No Towers* is intrinsically fragmented. Its collage-like layout and ‘refusal to provide a specific sequential order in which to read the panels’ are read by Karen Espiritu as ‘an understanding of the interminable condition of encountering and trying to address trauma’.³⁰

Beside the formal aspects noted already, time itself behaves oddly for the author-protagonist. Time is continually suspended, restarted, advanced and repeated: it stands still;³¹ it ‘flies while it stands still’;³² it is continually revisited through retelling and nostalgia;³³ and it passes again,³⁴ all of which occurs while the world and, presumably, time is repeatedly expected to end.³⁵ The date of September 11 itself has ‘our hero ... trapped’;³⁶ while he is ‘doomed [to] compulsively retell the calamities of September 11th’.³⁷ On the sequential level, the “An Upside Down World” sequence on shows a complete confusion of spatio-temporality.³⁸

Noting all of these examples, one is likely to agree with Kristiaan Versluys’ argument that Spiegelman’s interpretation of history and time is not the type of neatly ordered narration we usually encounter. Instead it is ‘a concatenation of shocks [...] a never-ending series of wounds that will not heal.’³⁹ This observation is underlined by the newspaper article from September 11, 1901 that is copied in *No Towers*’ inside sleeve, which reports on the ‘president’s wound re-opened’ after an attempted assassination.

Both the recurring transformations into nostalgic persona as well as the distortion of time point to a failed re-embedding of the past into the present. I call this a *failed* re-embedding because the characters and memories need to consistently deal with the ‘new normal’ and fail to do so.

The intrinsic fragmentation of *No Towers*’ form and content - jumping associatively as it does from topic to topic between inserts and sequences - as well as the continuously rupturing continuity and re-emerging past are classic tropes of trauma theory. Dominick LaCapra attests to the ‘state of disorientation, agitation, or even confusion’ created by the impact of trauma that induces ‘a gripping response whose power and force of attraction can be compelling,’

...indeed, in post-traumatic situations in which one relives (or acts out) the past, distinctions tend to collapse, including the crucial distinction between then and now wherein one is able to remember what happened to one in the past but realize one is living in the here and now.⁴⁰

Indeed Spiegelman’s ‘hero is trapped reliving the traumas of Sept. 11’.⁴¹

On one hand, Spiegelman finds solace in seeking out artefacts from before 9/11's rupture in continuity, when the towers (those 'icons of a more innocent age')⁴² were still intact. On the other hand, Spiegelman experiences what Cathy Caruth calls 'the literal return of the event against the will of the one it inhabits' through the recurring image of the glowing towers.⁴³ This rings true with the conception of trauma arising from an event 'not assimilated or experienced fully at the time, but only belatedly, in its repeated possession of the one who experiences it'.⁴⁴ Indeed Spiegelman's protagonist endorses this: 'it was hard for puny human brains to assimilate genuinely new information [...] and it remains just as hard now, these many months later.'⁴⁵ The motif of the glowing towers underlines this, and simultaneously emphasizes the seemingly unnarrativizable nature of his trauma: 'his memories swirl and events fade, but he still sees that glowing tower when he closes his eyes.'⁴⁶ The image haunts him, remaining 'burned onto the inside of [his] eyelids several years later,' but the story – the sequence of events – is difficult to bring into coherent narrative.⁴⁷

By reproducing this haunting central image, Spiegelman answers a vital turn, or near-death realization, in his working through trauma: the 'unstated epiphany' of vowing 'to return to making comix full-time'.⁴⁸ Versluys argues that by creating his document, Spiegelman 'stands up and speaks about the event,'⁴⁹ or, in Lilian Kremer's terms, he acts out 'the sacred duty to bear witness'.⁵⁰ And he increasingly does so for a collective, for a New York community: as he works through his trauma, he is haunted by images he did not witness,⁵¹ he includes others' anecdotes, speaks for all New Yorkers and eventually addresses national concerns.⁵² Spiegelman's political turn half-way through *No Towers* - dated November 2002, a year after he started – marks an entry back into the collective. Slowly but surely Spiegelman's personal trauma seems to speak for all: 'we're all still just a bunch of stunned pigeons'.⁵³

3. Framing the Individual

It is at this point that analyses of Spiegelman's work as a trauma-document reach an almost univocal point: *No Towers*' initially personal trauma stands in for a collective experience. To Espiritu - who scrutinizes the graphic novel as a vehicle for public mourning - Spiegelman is simultaneously audience, artist, witness and provider of *testimonial*.⁵⁴ A public affair, 'the public appeal' of which 'addresses a larger readership that [will] reflect upon and critically take up both the politics and the pedagogies of the work of mourning'.⁵⁵ Katalin Orbán casts *No Towers* as a case of 'traumatic memory in a *multigenerational* chain of remembering, transmission and reenactment'.⁵⁶ Versluys, too, sees Spiegelman's epiphany of 'opening up to the world outside' as 'tak[ing] a further step toward fulfilling his obligation as true witness'.⁵⁷

Spiegelman's trauma-theoretical readers were not alone in their adoption of the personal trauma as representations of collective sufferings. Lucy Bond traces a

‘master theme for the emergent corpus of 9/11 literature’ which proposes a notion of rupture that is at once highly localized (spatially as well as temporally) and historically unspecific.⁵⁸ Bond criticizes Caruth’s account of trauma as allowing an ‘overextension of the attribution of trauma to national, even universal levels’.⁵⁹ This due to Caruth’s assertion that for history ‘to be a history of trauma means that it is referential precisely to the extent that it is not fully perceived as it occurs,’⁶⁰ reducing trauma to something that does not arise ‘from a particular tragedy or disaster.’ Instead, such a universally applicable account of trauma arises as ‘an inherent structural consequence of the impossibility of accurately representing or remembering any given event,’⁶¹ or even, in Wulf Kansteiner’s words, as ‘a basic anthropological condition’.⁶²

Noting with Bond that 9/11’s memorial culture is fascinated with ideas of liberty and freedom ‘identifying manifestations of private grief with quintessential American values,’ a superficial reading of *No Towers* makes it extraordinarily fit as a ‘story of personal loss’ to be placed ‘into a wider discourse firmly rooted in a nationalist sphere’.⁶³ As a powerful representation of the fragmented, dislocating experience of that September day, it could have well been used to ‘manipulate the psychological impact of the attacks to facilitate [the Bush administration’s] political and military agendas.’⁶⁴ It could have been, were it not so that *No Towers*’ political turn embodies precisely that ‘antihegemonic counternarrative’ Bond calls for in her conclusion.⁶⁵

Proposing that ‘brigands,’ or elsewhere ‘the bush cabal,’⁶⁶ have hijacked the hijackings,⁶⁷ Spiegelman finds himself interrupted in reliving his trauma, unable even to ‘concentrate to still see the glowing bones of those towers’.⁶⁸ Even this central motif is overruled as the image distorts and disappears: ‘trauma piles on trauma,’⁶⁹ as Spiegelman turns to confront exactly the abuse of nationalist sentiments criticized by Bond:

Why did those provincial American flags have to sprout out of the embers of Ground Zero? Why not... a globe??!⁷⁰

Spiegelman’s pleas serve to underline a tendency that Bond at once encourages and at the same time overlooks in her otherwise exhaustive and productive meta-critical analysis. She is very much right in recognizing a master narrative of trauma as the ‘coherent narrative about 11 September’ and ‘the received mode of understanding’ instead of trauma, originally, describing precisely a lack thereof.⁷¹ But Spiegelman’s *No Towers* long instigated a turn in which place is reserved for that counter-discourse.

Unfortunately, Spiegelman’s suggestion is given shape by a national schizophrenia that is at best parallel to his individual schizophrenia. Just as we see Spiegelman change in one sequence from a cheerleader for war to an automutilating conspiracy theorist,⁷² so does his country appear in differing shapes.

Concluding that ‘we’re actually a nation under *two* flags,’⁷³ Republican red eagles and Democratic blue doves morph and blend. Earlier, ‘our hero’ had felt ‘equally terrorized by Al-Qaeda and by his own government;’⁷⁴ at this point in the narrative the proverbial threat (‘the other shoe’ introduced on the very first page) has become the government.

4. Conclusion

That final sentence betrays something important. For one, that *No Towers* is intuitively and by most understandings a narrative: although it thrives on its *representation* of trauma, it is in part a result of contemplation, description and narration. Characterized as it is by shifts and uncertainties, it finishes on a transformation - from tragedy to travesty - in almost certain instability.

Notes

¹ I use the term cultural memory in Mieke Bal's sense, i.e. 'memory [that] can be understood as a cultural phenomenon as well as an individual or social one' where 'cultural memorization [is] an activity occurring in the present, in which the past is continuously modified and redescribed even as it continues to shape the future,' cf. Mieke Bal, "Introduction," in *Acts of Memory: Cultural Recall in the Present*, ed. By Bal et al. (Hanover, NH: UP of New England, 1999), vii.

² See for example the oft-quoted James Berger, "There's no Backhand to This," in *Trauma at Home*, ed. by Judith Greenberg (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003), 54: 'nothing adequate, nothing corresponding in language could stand in for it. No metaphor could carry language across to it. There was nothing to call it because it had taken reality over entirely'.

³ Lucy Bond, "Compromised Critique: A Meta-critical Analysis of American Studies after 9/11," *Journal of American Studies* 45, no. 4 (2011): 734.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 755

⁵ Or what Bond calls, in her abstract, 'a compromised interpretative field in which frames of reference slip too easily between the public and the personal, simultaneously militarizing mourning and sentimentalizing politics,' cf. Bond, "Compromised Critique," 733.

⁶ I am aware that there is some frenzied disagreement concerning the proper term for the medium. Although the term 'graphic novel' seems easily accepted in the academic community, purists might deem it derogatory, forcing the medium to behave like a 'traditional' novel. It is a disagreement outside of the scope and concerns of this essay, hence I shall use the terms graphic novel and comic (strip) indiscriminately, noting that Spiegelman himself prefers and uses a third term: 'comix'.

⁷ Art Spiegelman, "The Sky is Falling!" in *In the Shadow of No Towers* (New York: Pantheon, 2002), I.

⁸ *Ibid.*, II (emphasis added).

⁹ Wyatt Mason, "The Holes in his Head," in *The New Republic*, 21 September 2004, <<http://www.tnr.com/docprint.mhtml?i=20040927&s=mason092704>> (site discontinued).

¹⁰ See Art Spiegelman, *In the Shadow of No Towers* (New York: Pantheon, 2002), 2.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 8.

¹² *Ibid.*, 9.

¹³ See Thierry Groensteen, *The System of Comics*, trans. by Bart Beaty and Nick Nguyen (Jackson: UP of Mississippi, 2007), 5.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 17.

¹⁵ See Scott McCloud, *Understanding Comics: the Invisible Art* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1994), 9.

¹⁶ It must be noted that there are traditions in which panels conventionally appear in sequence from right to left. The Japanese tradition of manga is an example of this.

¹⁷ Spiegelman, *No Towers*, 1.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 5, 10.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 8.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 9.

²¹ By ‘writerly,’ I refer to Barthes’ idea of *texte scriptible*, i.e. any text that ‘make[s] the reader no longer a consumer but a producer of the text,’ in Roland Barthes, *S/Z*, trans. by Richard Miller (New York: Hill and Wang, 1974), 4.

²² In Espen Aarseth’s sense, any text is ergodic that requires ‘non-trivial effort [...] to allow the reader to traverse the text,’ in Espen J. Aarseth, *Cybertext: Perspectives on Ergodic Literature* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1997), 1.

²³ See Spiegelman, *No Towers*, 1 as well as Spiegelman, “The Sky is Falling,” II.

²⁴ Spiegelman, *No Towers*, 2.

²⁵ *Idem*, 7.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 6.

²⁷ Art Spiegelman, “The Comic Supplement,” in *In the Shadow of No Towers* (New York: Pantheon, 2002), 11

²⁸ Other examples are his comparisons with the smoke in Auschwitz and with Berlin’s *Kristallnacht*, see Spiegelman, *No Towers*, 3, 4.

²⁹ Spiegelman, “The Sky is Falling,” I.

³⁰ See Karen Espiritu, “Putting Grief into Boxes: Trauma and Crisis of Democracy in Art Spiegelman’s *In the Shadow of No Towers*,” *The Review of Education, Pedagogy and Cultural Studies* 28 (2006): 186.

³¹ Spiegelman, *No Towers*, 2.

³² *Ibid.*, 4.

³³ *Ibid.*, 2, 7.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 8.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 1, 7.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 4.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 2.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 7.

³⁹ Kristiaan Versluys, “Art Spiegelman’s *In the Shadow of No Towers*: 9-11 and the Representation of Trauma,” *MFS Modern Fiction Studies* 52, no. 4 (2006): 982.

⁴⁰ Dominick Lacapra, “Trauma, Absence, Loss,” *Critical Inquiry* 25, no. 4 (1999), 699

⁴¹ Spiegelman, *No Towers*, 4.

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- ⁴² Ibid., 2.
- ⁴³ Cathy Caruth, *Trauma: Explorations in Memory* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1995), 5.
- ⁴⁴ Ibid., 4.
- ⁴⁵ Spiegelman, *No Towers*, 3.
- ⁴⁶ Ibid., 4.
- ⁴⁷ Spiegelman, "The Sky is Falling," II.
- ⁴⁸ Spiegelman, "The Sky is Falling," I.
- ⁴⁹ Versluys, "9-11 and the Representation of Trauma," 987.
- ⁵⁰ Lilian Kremer, *Witness through the Imagination: Jewish American Holocaust Literature* (Detroit: Wayne State UP, 1989), 27.
- ⁵¹ Spiegelman, *No Towers*, 6.
- ⁵² Ibid., 9.
- ⁵³ Ibid.
- ⁵⁴ Espiritu, "Putting Grief into Boxes," 182.
- ⁵⁵ Ibid. 197
- ⁵⁶ Katalin Orbán, "Trauma and Visuality: Art Spiegelman's *Maus* and *In the Shadow of No Towers*," *Representations* 97, no. 1 (2007), 58 (emphasis added).
- ⁵⁷ Versluys, "9-11 and the Representation of Trauma," 995.
- ⁵⁸ Bond, "Compromised Critique," 736-37.
- ⁵⁹ Ibid., 738.
- ⁶⁰ Cathy Caruth, *Unclaimed Experience: Trauma, Narrative, and History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1996), 18.
- ⁶¹ Bond, "Compromised Critique," 740.
- ⁶² Wulf Kansteiner, "Genealogy of a Category Mistake: A Critical Intellectual History of the Cultural Trauma Metaphor," *Rethinking History*, 8, 2 (2004), 204.
- ⁶³ Bond, "Compromised Critique," 745.
- ⁶⁴ Something Richard A. Clarke labels the 'White House 9/11 trauma defense,' cf. Bond, "Compromised Critique," 746-7.
- ⁶⁵ Bond, "Compromised Critique," 756.
- ⁶⁶ Spiegelman, "The Sky is Falling," II.
- ⁶⁷ Spiegelman, *No Towers*, 4.
- ⁶⁸ Ibid., 5.
- ⁶⁹ Ibid.
- ⁷⁰ Ibid., 7.
- ⁷¹ Bond, "Compromised Critique," 756.
- ⁷² Spiegelman, *No Towers*, 8.
- ⁷³ Ibid., 7.
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